







3^d Discourse

THE

HISTORY

O F

The Persecution

O F T H E

VALLEYS

O F

PIEDMONT.

CONTAINING

An ACCOUNT of what hath passed
in the Dissipation of the Churches
and the Inhabitants of the VALLEYS,
which happened in the Year 1686.

L O N D O N:

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S. Paul's Church-yard. M D C LXXXVIII.

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THE
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 Valleys of *PIEDMONT.*

IT is not my design at present to make a large and particular Relation of all that hath happened on account of this sad and lamentable Dissipation, since I hope to treat of it more amply hereafter. Nevertheless, I shall observe all that is necessary to make it appear that there never was a Persecution more cruel nor more unjust, than that which hath been put in execution this last time against the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piedmont*; that their Religion hath been the only cause of this Persecution, and that those who have escaped from it do well deserve the compassion and charity of all good Christians.

The Churches of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, or of the *Waldenses*, as they are commonly called, were the most ancient of all those that derive their Original from the Apostles, whose Doctrine they have always followed and taught. They stood in no need of a Reformation, by reason that they never were partakers of those gross Errors and Idolatries with which the Church of *Rome* and Popery have infected Christendom. The purity of their manners hath corresponded so well with their Doctrine, that their very Enemies have not stuck to avouch, That their moderation, and the exemplariness of their Lives, have contribu-

ted much to the establishment of their Religion. They have not been content only not to enter into an idolatrous and superstitious Communion, but they have always openly declared and protested against those Abuses and against the Papal Tyranny; insomuch, that neither *Luther* nor *Calvin*, nor any other of our Reformers, have pleaded more strongly or more boldly in confirmation of the Heresies of the *Roman Church*: as also the aforesaid great Men have given their approbation of the Doctrine of the Churches of the *Waldenses*, as Orthodox and Apostolical.

It is not at all to be wonder'd at then, that these Churches have always been the object of the hatred and rage of the Papists; that Popes have caused *Croisades* to be published, and engaged a part of *Europe* against them; that divers famous Inquisitors have at several times made use of all that cruelty and subtlety that rage and malice could invent for the extirpation of the *Waldenses*; and that particularly the Council *de propaganda fide & extirpandi Hæreticis* hath left no stone unturn'd to effect their utter destruction: But we cannot sufficiently admire that special and peculiar Providence with which it hath pleased Almighty God always to protect the Churches and the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, since notwithstanding so many violent Persecutions, notwithstanding the perfidious Treasons with which their Enemies have always repaid their Fidelity, notwithstanding seven or eight and twenty Wars, which their Religion hath drawn upon them, and notwithstanding the Massacres which have so often as a torrent overflowed the Valleys with the blood of the *Waldenses*, this great God hath preserved them by continual Miracles of his Providence.

All Historians, even they of the contrary party, are agreed, That these Churches have continued in an immemorial possession of the exercise of their Religion, before they fell under the Dominion of the Dukes or Counts of *Savoy*, which came not to pass till the Year 1233, when *Thomas* Count of *Savoy* made himself Master of the City of *Pignerol* and of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, under pretence that the Race of the Princes of *Piedmont* was extinc^t. It is also certain that the *Waldenses* never submitted to the Counts of *Savoy* (from whom his Royal Highness is descended) but on condition that they should be maintained in their Privileges. In fine, it is upon this Foundation that the said Counts being become Princes of *Piedmont*, have defended and confirmed the *Waldensian* Churches in the exercise of their Religion, and in their other Rights and Privileges. They have granted unto them upon this account, from time to time, several authentick Concessions, particu-

particularly in the years 1561, 1602, and 1603; which being enacted, and enroll'd in the Senate and in the Chamber of the Accompts of *Turin*, in the year 1620, on consideration of a great sum of money which the *Waldenses* paid thereupon, as appears by the Act of Enrollment, these Concessions thus passed in form of an irrevocable Transaction and of a perpetual and inviolable Law, the execution whereof was ordained by several solemn Decrees of the Dukes of *Savoy* in the years 1638, 1649, 1654, and 1655.

The Council *de propaganda fide*, which is obliged by its Establishment, by its Title, and by its Oath, to procure the ruine of those whom it brands with the Name of Hereticks, observing with great regret the peaceable and quiet State which the *Waldenses* enjoyed under the protection of these Laws, put every thing in execution that might tend to the disturbance thereof. To this end it was that this Council which was then composed partly of the Principal Ministers of State of the Court of *Turin*, taking advantage of the minority of *Charles Emmanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, caused to be published in the month of *January* 1655, an Order which obliged all the Inhabitants of the Valleys to quit the Plain within three days, and to retire into the Mountains, upon pain of death, in case they did not make proof that they were turned Catholicks. The *Waldenses* obey'd this Order, as unjust and cruel as it was. But this their obedience that took away all pretence from their Enemies, could not secure them from that horrible Massacre in the year 1655, of which all *Europe* hath been informed and astonished at, and of which Posterity will speak as of an Action the most inhumane, the most perfidious, and the most infamous that ever was committed in the World. This Massacre seem'd in all appearance irrecoverably to have destroyed the *Waldenses*; but there were many, who having escaped the fury of these Butchers, resolved to defend their Lives to the last gasp. They executed this their Resolution with that brave force and undaunted Courage, that they had defeated in several Rencounters a considerable party of their Enemies, when all the Protestant Princes and Estates interest'd themselves in behalf of the *Waldenses*. These generous Protectors having been informed of this dreadful Massacre, were not content only to open to them the bowels of their Charity and Benevolence, but they continually sollicited the Duke of *Savoy* by their Intercessions. The reform'd Cantons of *Suitzerland* among the rest, sent on this account four Ambassadors to the Court of *Turin*. These Ambassadors joining themselves to that of *France*, who had already made himself Mediator or Arbitrator in this Affair,

in the name of his Master, laboured together to procure a Peace, and obtained for the Churches and Inhabitants of the Valleys, a Confirmation of their Privileges definitively and irrevocably, by a solemn Patent which the Duke of *Savoy* gave the 9th of *August 1655*, enrolled in due form in the Senate, and in the Chamber of Accompts of *Turin*.

One would think that after a Patent of this nature, that carries the title and character of a perpetual and inviolable Law, granted in the presence and at the mediation of the Ambassadors of *France* and *Suitzerland*, and of which the King of *France* was declared Garantee, as shall be made appear hereafter; one would think, I say, that the *Waldenses* might have enjoyed the fruits of a Peace which they had purchased with the blood of more than six thousand of their Brethren; but all this was not capable to cover them from the Insults of their Enemies. The Council of Propagation violated this Patent in its most essential points, and persecuted the *Waldenses* by divers unjust and violent means. But since they oppos'd their Persecutions only with complaints, their Enemies took their patience for sloth; and believing that they could oppress them without resistance, they employed again once more Fire and Sword, and renewed in 1663. the mischiefs and the violences that they had caused in 1655. The *Waldenses* knowing by experience that to stand in their own defence was the only way to save themselves, were constrained to take up Arms; and defended themselves so well, that they had re-established their Affairs about the end of the year 1663. It was at this time that the reformed Cantons sent again Ambassadors to the Court of *Turin*, to render themselves Mediators of the Peace: these Ambassadors being joined as the former to that of *France* who resided with the Duke of *Savoy*, they procured again for the *Waldenses* a solemn, perpetual, and irrevocable Patent in the month of *February 1664*, confirming the precedent, and enrolled likewise in the Senate, and in the Chamber of Accompts.

But this Patent was not executed with better faith than the former, though the Duke had engaged with the Reformed Cantons in a Letter bearing date the 28th of *February 1664*, to cause it to be punctually observed. It would not be easie to represent the Artifices which the Council of the Propagation made use of to render this Patent useles to the *Waldenses*: It may suffice to say, that it were impossible for them to defend themselves against so much subtily, and so much malice, if God, who holds the hearts of Kings and Princes in his hands, had not changed in their favour that of *Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy*.

Savoy. This Prince on the other side, examined the conduct of the *Waldenses*; knew that it was without reason, that they had rendered them odious to him, and calling to mind the Zeal which they had shewn for his service on several occasions, particularly in the years 1638. and 1640. when they so vigorously opposed his Enemies, whilst the greatest part of his Estates had revolted against him, he resolved for the future to treat them as Subjects, who well deserved his love and protection.

The War which he had with the *Geneses* in the year 1672. mightily confirmed him in the favourable opinion he had conceived of the *Waldenses*. They served him in this War with so much Zeal and Courage, that this Prince not satisfied with commendng their Valor and Fidelity in a Letter which he wrote to them for this purpose, gave them continually assured marks of his protection and good will towards them ever to his Death. The Duchess, his Widow, after his example, treated them not only with abundance of gentleness and goodness, but likewise engaged with the Reformed Cantons in a Letter dated the 28th. of January 1679. to maintain the *Waldenses* in the exercise of their Religion, and in their other Privileges.

I have touched but lightly on these matters, lest I should go beyond the due limits I have set my self, but I thought it not convenient to suppress them. For besides that, they serve to shew that the Rights and Privileges of the *Waldenses* were established on immovable foundations, and to shew that their Enemies have alwaies violated the most solemn and the most authentick Engagements, and have exercised nothing but Cruelty, Injustice, and Perfidiousnes towards them; they serve also to justifie the conduct which the *Waldenses* have at last taken, which is properly the subject of this Relation.

The *Waldenses* flattered themselves, that under the Government of the Duke of *Savoy* that now reigns, they might enjoy some Tranquillity. They had rendered him very considerable Services in the year 1684. in the War of the *Banditi* of *Mondovi*. This Prince hath given them authentick assurances of his satisfaction and good will, in a Letter that he caused to be written to them on this occasion, and the beginning of his Reign seemed to promise for the future, that in rendering unto *Cesar* that which is *Cesar's*, they should have the liberty to render to God that which is God's. They were disappointed of that hope, when the Governour of the Valleys of *Piedmont* caused to be published, about the end of the year 1685. an Order which forbade all Foreigners to go and inhabit these Valleys, and to remain there.

there above three daies without his permission, and the Inhabitants to lodge or entertain them, under severe Penalties. The *Waldenses* had already heard of the Violencies which were used in *France*, to compel people to change their Religion: They had also heard that the King of *France* had made void the Edicts of *Nantes*, and they judged well that the prohibition that was given them not to further the retreat of their Brethren, might be of dangerous consequence to them. But they foresaw not the mischiefs that happened to them, whether it were by reason that men naturally love to flatter themselves, or because their Enemies took all the care they possibly could to deceive them, and to drive from them all thoughts that *fear* might inspire them withal, to the end that they might take no precaution.

They were in this condition when the Order of his Royal Highness, dated the 31st. of *January* 1686. was published in the Valleys, which prohibits the exercise of their Religion in general, upon pain of Death, the confiscation of their Goods, condemneth all the Churches to be demolished, and all the Ministers to banishment, ordaineth that the Children that shall be born, shall be baptized and educated in the Romish Religion, under penalty that their Fathers shall be sent to the Galleys, and contains almost the same things with the Declaration of the King of *France*, that annuls the Edict of *Nantes*. It is impossible to express the fears and grief with which the *Waldenses* were seized at the sight of an Order so surprizing, so unjust and so rigorous, as also so much more terrible than the preceding, that had produced such tragical effects. For the former tended only to lock them up within streighter bounds, and to take from them the right of inhabiting the Plain which they had enjoyed time out of mind: But the Order of the 31st. of *January*, deprives them intirely of the exercise of their Religion, and of the Liberty of Conscience. They saw themselves at one stroak precipitated into a dreadful abyf of misfortunes without perceiving any means of recovery, and they found themselves exposed either to see the light of the Gospel extinguished in the Valleys, that had shone so bright there for so many Ages, or to see those cruel Massacres renewed, that had sacrificed so many of their Brethren: Nevertheless, since they were perswaded that this Order was got by surprize, and that their Enemies had imposed on the equity of their Prince, they had recourse to complaints and supplications, according to their usual custom, and presented four Petitions to the Duke of *Savoy*, to implore the revocation of this Order. But since they could obtain nothing but some adjournment to prepare themselves

selves for its execution, they saw that their misfortune was without remedy ; they were yet more certain of it when they understood that the King of France, who for reasons of State and Polity had hitherto protected them, and who was also declared Garantee of the Patents aforesaid, had not only obliged the Duke to put forth this Order, but further, that his Majesty had caused his Troops to advance into Piedmont for the execution of it. Then it was that the *Waldenses* seeing themselves insulted over by the Papists of their neighbourhood, took some Precautions to defend themselves, and to preserve their Lives from the danger that threatned them.

In the mean time the Reformed Cantons having been informed of this order, and of the measures that they had taken for the execution of it, thought that they ought not to abandon a People persecuted for their Religion, and that they ought to appear on this occasion as they had before appeared on others of the like nature. They were resolved then, in an Assembly held at *Baden*, in the month of *February 1686*, to send again Ambassadors to the Duke of *Savoy* to intercede for the *Waldenses*. These Ambassadors arrived at *Turin* in the beginning of *March*, and made their Propositions tending to the revocation of the Order of the 31th of *January*. They made it appear that the Reformed Cantons were interested in this Affair, not only as Brethren of the *Waldenses* in the Communion of one and the same Faith, but also by reason that the Patents of 1655 and 1663, which that Order destroyed, were the fruits of their Mediation, and they back'd their demands with many cogent and solid Considerations. The Court of *Turin* disputed not these Reasons, and contented it self to cause it to be told the Ambassadors, That the Engagements wherein the Duke of *Savoy* had entred with the King of *France*, opposed the Success of their Negotiation. This obliged the Ambassadors to represent in a Memorial which they gave for that purpose, that the Predecessors of his Royal Highness having engaged their royal word to several Sovereigns, and particularly to the Reformed Cantons, for the execution of the Patents granted to the *Waldenses*, he could not renounce Engagements so formal and so authentick, whether because these Patents are not simple Toleration, but perpetual Concessions, and inviolable Laws, or because these Patents were granted at the intercession of several Sovereigns, and according to the Law of Nations they are everlasting Monuments of the publick Faith ; or lastly, because the words of Sovereigns ought to be sacred and inviolable. They alledged also many reasons of Polity that ought to oblige the Duke of *Savoy* to main-

maintain the *Waldenses* in their Privileges ; and the rules of Justice and Clemency did not permit him to carry Fire and Sword, Blood and Slaughter into his own Dominions, nor to destroy a People that implored his grace and mercy, and who had done nothing to draw upon themselves this severe Order which was the cause of their despair. But neither the Reasons of the Ambassadors, nor their pressing Sollicitations, nor the Letters of Intercession that many Protestant Princes wrote besides on behalf of the *Waldenses*, produced any effect, but served only to confirm the Ambassadors in the assurance of the Engagements wherein the Duke of *Savoy* had entered with the King of *France*, for the extirpation of the Religion in the Valleys.

The *Waldenses* in the mean time were ignorant of that which passed at *Turin* : they had not heard of the departure of the Ambassadors, for they had taken and slopt two men on their Passage who went to carry the News into the Valleys. It is true that they had heard at length by a common report, That these Ambassadors were at *Turin* to demand a Revocation of the Order of the 31th of *January*; but they knew nothing certain of the success of their Negotiation. They could not go so much as to inform themselves; for besides that none of them durst go to *Turin* since the adjournment that was granted them from the execution of the Order was expired, the Court had moreover refused a safe conduct that the Ambassadors had demanded of them, that the Deputies of the Valleys might come and defend their Rights, as hath been practised in the preceding Negotiations : but however things went, in expecting the event of this, the *Waldenses* had fortified themselves in their own Country with certain Entrenchments, and stood upon their guard to hinder the entry of the Troops, the most part of which were already encamped at the foot of the Valleys.

The Duke of *Savoy* returned an Answer to the proposition of the Ambassadors by the Marques of *St. Thomas*, one of his Ministers of State, who hath the management of foreign Affairs, and who swore to them that the Duke could not revoke his Order, by reason he was not the Master of it. He protested to them also, on the part of his Royal Highness; that provided the Order were executed, he would not refuse to enter into some Expedients. He gave them also to understand, that upon their account he would not refuse to give the *Waldenses* permission to depart out of his Dominions, and to dispose of their Goods. The Ambassadors were persuaded, that the *Waldenses*, having neither a Commander nor regular Troops, could not sustain a War against the King of *France*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, who were united

ted for their Destruction. They thought therefore, that to avoid the storm with which the People were threatned, the best way would be to procure a Retreat for them, with the disposition of their Goods. But because before they entred into this Negotiation, it was necessary for them to consult the Opinion of the Valleys, the Ambassadors took measures with the Court of *Turin* to make a Journey thither; and the Duke of *Savoy* also gave them a Letter to this effect for the Governor of the Valleys. The Ambassadors arrived there the 22th of *March*, and caused the Communities to be assembled by their Deputies the next day, to whom they declared what they had done. They told them, that the condition of the *Waldenses* being such, that they were destitute of all hopes of relief, they had no more to do but to consider of a Retreat, in case they could obtain it with leave to sell their Goods; and that if they would embrace this Proposition, they would relate this their disposition to it as coming from them. The Deputies of the Commons being much surprized to understand, that they might not expect any succor in an occasion wherein they thought that all the Reformed part of *Europe* ought to be concerned, told the Ambassadors that they were persuaded that they could not do better than to follow their advice, but that to take deliberation in an Affair of so great importance, it was necessary to call a General Assembly.

The Orders being given for this, the Ambassadors returned to *Turin*, they informed the Marquess of *St. Thomas* of the Success of their Journey, who assured them that this Negotiation was very agreeable to the Court. They demanded, at length, a safe Conduct, that some of the Inhabitants of the Valleys might have liberty to come, and bring the Deliberations that should be taken in this Assembly: but it was refused upon these two Pretences; one was, That the Duke of *Savoy* would not permit that any *Waldenses* should appear at the Court; the other was, That he designed to do nothing in this Affair but only for the sake of the Ambassadors. They were forced then to send the Secretary of the Embassy into the Valleys to fetch these Deliberations. This Secretary found the Communities assembled at *Angrogne* the 28th of *March*, very much unresolved what course to take; for on one side they saw the lamentable consequences of War, on the other side the dangers, and the almost unsurmountable difficulties in the execution of their Retreat; besides, although they might depart without danger, they could not behold, but with extreme regret, the hard necessity of being forced to abandon their Goods and their Native Country to go into a foreign Land to lead a miserable, disconsolate, and a vagabond

sort of a life. At last they took a Resolution to send a Memorial to the Ambassadors, concerning the dangers and difficulties that obstructed their Departure, and to write a Letter to them signed by nine Ministers and eight Lay-men, in which, after having entreated them to reflect on these Obstacles, they should declare, That they would refer the whole to their Prudence and Conduct. Upon this Letter the Ambassadors made it their business to obtain a permission for the *Waldenses* to retire out of the Estates of *Piedmont*, and to make sale of their Goods; but the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom this Proposition was referred, gave it out, That before he would return any Answer thereto, he expected that the Communities of the Valleys should send Deputies to him, with full power to make those Submissions that were due to him, and to beg leave to depart out of his Territories, as a peculiar favour that they should implore of their Prince. The Ambassadors had reason to be surprized at these Preambles. They had denied them the safe Conducts that they had demanded for the coming of the Deputies of the Valleys to *Turin*. They had assured them several times, that if they should grant to the *Waldenses* leave to retreat, it was only upon the account, and at the intercession of the Ambassadors: nevertheless, they would by no means have it said that the Ambassadors desired a permission for them to depart, on their own behalf; but on the contrary, that it was the *Waldenses* themselves that made this Request. This alteration was not made without cause, and it was not for nothing that they took measures altogether different from their former. The Council of the *Propagation* who managed this Affair, had without doubt respect to these two several regards; one was, That they would not have the Ambassadors named in the permission of departure, to the end that they should have the less right to demand the execution of those things that should be promised to the *Waldenses*; the other, That the *Waldenses* themselves desiring this Permission as a favour, they might be at liberty to impose on them what conditions they pleased; and lastly, That the *Waldenses* making those Submissions that the Duke required of them, must needs be in the state of Supplicants, and would by consequence be forced to lay down their Arms; otherwise they could not be in the condition of Petitioners. But however it were, the Ambassadors being willing to take away all pretences from the Enemies of the *Waldenses*, took a safe Conduct to bring the Deputies whom they had demanded: they sent this safe Conduct into the Valleys by the Secretary of the Embassy, who caused the Communities to be assembled to nominate their Deputies.

But

But as on the one hand, there were many who were never engaged in the design of departing; and that on the other, the new Marches of their Enemies appeared suspicious, the Communities were not all of one mind, nor the Orders they gave to their respective Deputies conformable one with another. For the tenor of some, was to beg leave to depart and to sell their Goods; and others required the maintenance of the exercise of their Religion and their other Rights. These Deputies being arrived at *Turin*, the Ambassadors thought it not convenient for them to appear at Court thus divided; but sent them back into the Valleys to endeavour a Union between themselves, and labour'd in the mean time to obtain a Truce for them.

Their Enemies heard with a great deal of satisfaction, that the Communities were divided amongst themselves upon the point of departing; they were so well persuaded that this division would be an infallible means to destroy them, that they caused it to be carried on and fomented ever since, in those parts, by perfidious persons whom they had gained for that purpose. It is also to be presumed, that they never had proposed the expedient of departing, but with a prospect that it might be the occasion of the disunion of the *Waldenses*. To make advantage then of the variable dispositions of the Communities, their Enemies changed their minds once more. They had lately declared, That they expected, in the first place, that the *Waldenses* should themselves desire a permission to depart, and should make their Submissions thereupon. The *Waldenses* had not made this Request nor these Submissions; several of the Communities were not of the opinion to retire: the Ambassadors did not sollicit any longer a permission to depart, but a Truce, as appears by a Letter that they wrote to the Marquess of *S. Thomas*, the 8th of *April*, 1686. In the mean time, notwithstanding all this, to accomplish absolutely the division of the *Waldenses*, and consequently to ruin them with the greater ease, they published forthwith, and unknown to the Ambassadors, an Edict dated the 9th of the same Month of *April*, granting to the *Waldenses* an Amnesty, and a permission to retire out of the Estates of *Piedmont*. For the better judging of the design of the Council of the *Propagation*, I have inserted a Copy of this Edict, translated from the *Italian*.

Divine Providence, in establishing Sovereigns above the People, hath granted unto the first the distribution of Rewards and Punishments, to the end that the hopes of the one may invite the good, and that the fear of the other may restrain the wicked. The last of these

ought to fall from our revenging hand on our Subjects of the Valleys of *Lucerne*, who make profession of the Protestant Religion, since it is notorious, that they have not only opposed, with great obstinacy, our Order of the 31st of *January* last; but they have also hardened themselves in their crime, and have fallen into the excesses of an enormous and consummated Rebellion: nevertheless, our natural Clemency surpassing their Crimes, and not suffering us to be content with that paternal forbearance, with which we have so long time in vain waited for their Repentance; it is our good pleasure again to leave it to their will, that hath hitherto followed evil counsel, the choice of a happy or a miserable condition, and to open to them this last time the gate of our Grace, to the end that they may make their best advantage thereof in manner following; which if they do not accept by a ready obedience, they cannot but impute to their rashness the chastisements which they shall deserve, and which they shall receive from our exasperated patience.

Wherefore, in the first place, for the confirmation of our Order of the 31st of *January* last, in regard that it shall not be contrary to this, we have by vertue of these Presents, of our certain knowledge, full power and absolute authority, by the Advice of our Council, ordained, That all our Subjects of the Valleys of *Lucerne* making profession of the Protestant and Reformed Religion, shall lay down their Arms, and retire into their Houses within the time herein afterwards prescribed.

We command them also to make no Associations nor Assemblies in any manner whatsoever; to the end that following our direction, the Judges of those places may have free access; and that the Fathers Missionaries, and other religious Orders, may return into the Churches from whence they have been forced to depart; and that the Catholicks, and those that have turn'd Catholicks, may possess the houses that they have abandoned.

And forasmuch as it is not reasonable that the Religious Missionaries, Catholicks and made Catholicks, should suffer by so many damages that they have received from the Protestant Religion; we will, require, and ordain, that the necessary sums to indemnifie them, shall be levied without distinction, and generally upon the Goods of the said Professors of the Protestant Religion, so far as shall be justified and summarily made appear before the Chevalier *Montrouz*, Intendant of Justice in the Valleys; declaring nevertheless, that in proving by the said Religious that the damages they sustained were caused by private Persons, they shall have their Redrefs and Satisfaction from the said private persons.

And to demonstrate to our said Subjects how great our Clemency is towards them, we give permission to those that shall think fit to go out of

of our Estates, to do it within the term and upon the conditions hereafter prescribed.

But by reason that their ill disposition is but too manifest by their past carriage and conduct, and that several may cloak their wicked designs, under a false pretence of obedience, we do reserve, besides those that shall go out of our Estates of their own accord, to order such others as we shall think fit, and as we shall find it most expedient to ascertain the repose of those who shall remain, unto whom we shall prescribe such rules as they shall observe for the future.

And for an augmentation of our Favours, we grant as well to those who shall retire voluntarily, as to those who shall depart by our orders, power to carry away with them what moveables and Effects they please, and to sell their Goods and Effects that they shall leave behind ; nevertheless after the manner hereafter prescribed.

The same shall be understood of Foreigners and those descended from Foreigners, who shall conform themselves to the last Article but one of the Order of the 31st of January above-mentioned.

The abovesaid sale of Goods shall be made to Catholicks and those that are converted Catholicks : But because it may happen that there may not be found Buyers enough within the term hereafter mentioned, and since we are not willing that the Religious, who shall go out of our Estates, should be deprived of the benefit of our present concession, it shall be lawful for them to agree with four or six persons to whom they shall give their Commissions, and who shall remain, by our permission, in *Lucerne*, with all freedom, during three months, to treat and negotiate with any, and to sell the Goods of those that are retired, to whom it shall be permitted to prescribe in their Commissions the precautions with which they would have their Goods sold for their greater security, and to receive the price of them where they have a mind to have it sent them, without fraud or malversation of the appointed Commissioners, over whom the Chevalier and Intendant *Montrouz* shall have the charge to inspect.

They who have a mind to retire, shall be obliged to appear respectively on the days and places hereafter specified, to be ready to depart without Fire-arms by the way that shall be marked out for them, either by *Savoy*, or by the Valley of *Agyle* : To this effect a Pasport and a free safe Conduit shall be given them on our part, to the end that they may not receive any evil treatment or hindrance in our Estates; but on the contrary, that they may receive all aid and assistance ; and because, that being in great numbers, they may be

be exposed to some inconveniences in the roads and in the places through which they must pass, being overloaded, they shall be formed into three Brigades, after this manner. The first that shall be composed of those of the Valley of *Lucerne*, shall rendezvous at the Tower, to depart immediately the day after the term hereafter appointed, *viz.* the 21st. of the month of *April*. The second Brigade composed of those of the Valley of *Angrogne*, *S. Bartholomew*, *Rocheplate*, and *Prurustin*, shall rendezvous at *S. Second*, and shall depart the day following, *viz.* the 22d. of this month. And the third and last Brigade formed of those of the Valley of *S. Martin*, and about *Perouse*, shall rendezvous at *Miradol*, and shall depart the third day, *viz.* the 23d. of this month.

The term limited wherein our said Subjects of the Protestant Religion inhabiting the Valleys of *Lucerne*, shall be obliged to lay down their Arms, after the manner expressed in the first Article of this present Order, is eight days after that it shall be published in the place of *Lucerne*, during which they must obey the Contents of the same Order, to enjoy the fruits of our Clemency, the motions of which we follow as well as those of a paternal affection, with which we regard our said Subjects, notwithstanding the heinousness and enormity of their Crimes. And provided all that is above said, be punctually observed, we grant our grace, pardon, remission, abolition, and an ample oblivion to our said Subjects, of all the excesses, defaults, crimes, and other things that they may have committed since the publication of our Order of the 31st. of *January* last, as well in general as in particular, insomuch that they may never be called to an account under any pretence whatsoever, prohibiting all Judges, Fiscals, and others to whom it may appertain to make any enquiry thereinto. But because if they should render themselves unworthy of such grace, in not observing every point as is above said, within the time prescribed, it would be of too pernicious a consequence to delay any longer the chastisement that they have deserved, after we have been so prodigal of our favours to them, and have waited so long time for their repentance; we will put in execution those means that God hath put into our hands to reduce the obstinate to their duty, and cause them to undergo the punishment of their unheard of rashness.

We deliver it to our Senate, &c. Given at *Turin* the 9th:
of *April* 1686. Enrolled the 10th.

This

This Edict was published in the Valleys the 11th. of April, the same day the Ambassadors wrote a Letter to the same effect to some of the Communities to know their resolution. In the mean time they gave a very pressing Memorial to the Marquess of S. Thomas, to have some assurance that the Troops should not enter into the Valleys, and to obtain for the *Waldenses* certain Conditions more favourable than those of the Edict: But the Court of Turin certified them that there was nothing to be expected for the *Waldenses*, till they had laid down their Arms, of which the Ambassadors gave advice to the Deputies of the Valley's who had been at Turin, by a Letter dated the 13th. that they wrote to them on that subject. The 14th. the Communities held a general assembly at *Rocheprate*, wherein after having examined the terms and conditions of the Edict, they were of opinion, that their Enemies thought of nothing less than in reality to permit their departure, which they seemed to grant to them, and that this Edict was nothing but a snare that they had laid to entangle them, and to destroy them with more ease: They resolved then not to accept of it, but to follow the example of their Ancestors, and to refer the event of it to Providence. Insomuch that this Edict which was designed altogether to divide them, wrought a quite contrary effect, and served to unite them all in the same judgment.

The principal reasons that hindered them from accepting this Edict, were, First, That since it ordains the entire execution of the Order of the 31st. of January, that condemns all the Churches to be demolished, they must of necessity demolish all the Churches within eight days, because the Edict declareth expressly, that if all that is contained in it be not executed within the space of eight days, they are deprived of and forfeit those favours that are granted in it. It must follow then, that for the execution of the Edict, either that the *Waldenses* themselves should demolish their Churches, or that their Enemies should do it. The *Waldenses* could not resolve to demolish them themselves, they would have sent their Troops, that under the pretence of this demolishing, would have infallibly oppressed the *Waldenses*. Secondly, If they designed to permit them to retire without disturbance, why did they not defer the execution of the Order of the 31st. of January, till after their departure? Why should they oblige them to demolish their Churches within the eight days that were given them, to prepare themselves to abandon for ever their native Country, were it not to render their retreat impossible? Thirdly, This Edict requires further, that they should lay down their Arms, and that they should open their Country to Monks, Missionaries,

and

and Catholicks. Now it is plain, that if they had thrown away their Arms, and opened their Country before their departure, they would have been exposed to the mercy of their Enemies, and to the fury of Troops who would not have failed to enter into their Country, to oppose the retreat of the *Waldenses*, and to torment them till such time as they had changed their Religion, as hath been practised elsewhere: But their fear was so much the more justifiable on this occasion, in regard that they gave them no assurance that their Troops should not enter into the Valleys. Fourthly, The *Waldenses* are also obliged to retire in three separate Brigades, and to rendezvouz in those places, where the Troops being encamped, they must consequently surrender themselves to the discretion of the Soldiers, and deliver themselves up to be butchered. Fifthly, The permission that the same Edict gives to the *Waldenses* to sell their Goods, was altogether useless to them: For besides that the sale could not be made till after their departure, to Catholicks, and by the management of Commissioners, they were bound out of the price of the same Goods, to indemnifie the Monks, the Missionaries, the ancient, the modern, and the future Catholicks, from those damages and interests which they should pretend, which they would have enhanced above the value of their Goods. Sixthly, The Edict also ordereth, that besides those that shall go out of the Valleys of their own accord, the Prince should reserve to himself a power to banish whom he shall think fit, for the securing the repose of those that remain, which supposes not only that the conditions of the Edict were so disadvantageous, that there would be many *Waldenses*, who would not accept them, nor depart out of their Station; but also that their departure ought not to be looked upon as a Favour, but as a Punishment that they intended to inflict on several *Waldenses*, since they reserved to themselves a power to banish those who should have a mind to stay. Seventhly, The Ambassadors were not named in the Edict, and the *Waldenses* had no security for the execution of those things that are therein contained. They had good reason then very much to mistrust these proceedings, since the many sad experiences that they had made on several occasions, how ill their Enemies kept their word, especially in this juncture, when they had broke the most inviolable Laws, were but too just a ground for their suspicions. Lastly, Since the Duke of *Savoy* had declared that he was not the Master of this affair, because of the engagements that he had taken with the King of *France*, it was not to be presumed that his Majesty, on whom this matter depended, would take any other measures, in respect of the *Waldenses*, than those he had taken with regard to

to his own Subjects. The *Waldenses* had also several other reasons grounded on the impossibility of their departure in so short a time, and upon other obstacles.

The Communities sent their resolution to the Ambassadors, who used all the diligence imaginable, to procure for the *Waldenses* Conditions more certain and more advantageous than those that are contained in the Edict; but neither their reasons nor their solicitations produced any effect. They were always told, that as long as the *Waldenses* were in Arms, they could not agree to any thing, nor so much as promise any thing positively. As also the *Waldenses* being perswaded that they would not disarm them, but to destroy them without trouble and without resistance, would by no means yield to it, and persisted in their resolution to defend themselves, if they came to attack them.

There happened a thing that served much to confirm them in this resolution. Two or three days after the publication of the Edict, several persons, namely, *Tbolozan*, *Gauier*, *Gauanre*, *Chabrié*, and ten or twelve other inhabitants of the Valleys, went to the Intendant, to declare to him, that they and their Families intended to go out of the Estates of *Piedmont*, conformably to the Edict, and to desire of him safe Conducts, which he refused them, under pretence that they should stay till they went out with the rest. Moreover, because there were several who resisted his solicitations to change their Religion, he caused them to be put in Prison, where some of them languished, and at last died miserably, and others remained there above nine months, *viz.* till the time when all the other Prisoners were discharged. There is no need of any further proof to make it appear, that their design was to destroy the *Waldenses*, who would not change their Religion. However, the Communities of the Valleys having received a Letter from the Ambassadors, made another Assembly at *Rocheprate*, the 19th. of *April*: They persisted in their resolution not to accept the Edict, and to defend themselves. It was then ordered in that Assembly, that all the Ministers should preach, and administer the Sacrament the *Sunday* following, which was *Easter-day*. The Valley of *S. Martin* entered into this deliberation with the rest, but put it not in execution. Some of that Valley changed their mind, without acquainting the other Valleys. And the Rectors of the Church of *Villeseche* wrote to the Ambassadors who were yet at *Turin* upon the point of their departing, a Letter dated the 20th. of *April*, wherein they declared to them, that they would execute the Edict, they entreated them for that reason, to procure for them a safe Conduct, and some time to provide for their retreat. One of the Am-

bassadors took the pains to go to the Camp to demand a safe Condu~~ct~~ ; but they deni'd it, under pretence that they had not desired it in time. It was always too soon or too late, and the time was never convenient to obtain safe Condu~~cts~~. In the mean time the Duke of *Savoy* was come into the Camp some days after the publication of the Edict, to the end he might strike terror into the *Waldenses* by his presence; and force them to accept of the Conditions that he had imposed on them ; he had made a review of his Troops, and of those of *France*, that were encamped on the Plain at the foot of the *Alps*; his Army was composed of his Family, of all the Cava'rie and Infantry, and the Militia of *Mon-dovi*, of *Barjes*, of *Bagnols*, and of a great number of Foragers. And the Army of *France* consisted of several Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, of seven or eight Battalions of Foot, that had passed the Mountains, and a Party of the Garrison of *Pignerol* and *Casal*, he had also prepared all things to attack the *Waldenses*, as soon as the Truce that was granted them should be expired, having appointed his own Army to storm the Valley of *Lucerne* and the Community of *Angrogne* ; and the Army of *France* to attack the Vallys of *S. Martin* and *Peirouse*. The *Waldenses* on the other side had taken some care to defend themselves ; they possessed but a part of the Valley of *Lucerne*. For the Tower that gives the Name to this Valley, and many other considerable places were in the Enemies hand. The Community of *Angrogne*, from which some call the Valley by the same Name, by reason of its large extent, was not wholly occupied by the *Waldenses*. In the Valley of *Peirouse* they took up only certain Posts in the places that depend on the Estates of *Piedmont* ; for this Valley is divided by the *Cluson* between the King of *France* and the Duke of *Savoy*; but they were in possession of all the Valley of *S. Martin*, being the strongest of all by its situation. They had fortified themselves in every one of those Valleys with several Retrenchments of Earth and dry Stones. They were about 2500. Men bearing Arms ; they had made Captains and Officers of the chiefest among themselves, for they had no Foreigners, and they expected the approach of the Enemies with a great deal of resolution. But since on the one side they had neither regular Troops, nor Captains, nor experienced Officers ; and that on the other side there were several *Waldenses* who had been corrupted, or that had relented during the Negotiation ; it is not to be wondered if they took not all the necessary precautions that were in their power. One of the greatest faults they committed was, their striving to maintain all their Posts ; For if they had abandoned the most advanced, and had retired withing the Retrenchments they had made

made in the Mountains, it is not likely that they would have been beaten out of them.

The 22d. of April being the day appointed for the attack, the French Army commanded by *Catinat* Governor of *Casal*, marched two hours before day by Torch-light against the Valleys of *Peirouse* and *S. Martin*, having for some time followed the River *Cluson* on the Kings Territories. *Catinat* sent out a Detachment of Infantry, commanded by *Villevieille* Lieutenant Colonel in *Limosin*, who having passed the River over a Bridge, entered into the Valley of *Peirouse* on the side of *Piedmont*. He seized on *S. Germain* a Village that the *Waldenses* had abandoned, and came to attack a Retrenchment that they had made hard by, in which there were two hundred Men. The *Waldenses* quitted this Post after some resistance, and took possession of another more advantageous. In the mean time a new Detachment of Horse and of yellow Dragoons having again passed the River, came to relieve the Foot who had began the Engagement. They used their utmost efforts to gain the Entrenchments of the *Waldenses*, which they thought easily to be Masters of, since they were six to one; but they found so stout a resistance, that after having lost abundance of their Soldiers, they were forced to entrench themselves at a Pistol shot distance; continual Fires were made on both sides for more than ten hours together; but at length the *Waldenses* went out of their Entrenchments with their Swords in their hands, surprized the French, who little expected so bold an action, and drove them even into the Plain on the other side of the *Cluson*, where opportunely they found a Bridge that kept them from being drowned. There were on this occasion more than five hundred French-men killed and wounded, and among the rest several Officers of note, and the *Waldenses* had but two men killed and some few wounded. The account that the contrary Party hath given of this Action, entitled, *A Relation of the War against the Religious, called Barbets,* agrees in this, concerning the great losse the French then sustained; for it affirms that the Fire of the revolted put a great Party of them into disorder. It confirmeth also the routing of the French; for it saith, that the *Waldenses* fell violently upon the Soldiers, and drove them out to the other side of the *Cluson*. In this rout *Villevieille* threw himself into the Church of *S. Germain* with threescore and ten Soldiers and some Officers: They summoned him to surrender himself, and offered him good Quarter; but he refused it, and shewed great courage, although they had killed and wounded a Party of his men. The *Waldenses* had nevertheless infallibly forced him; but the night being come, they found themselves so harrassed with the

fatigues of the day, that they were constrained, having left a few behind to guard at the door of the Church, to go seek for some refreshment. *Villevieille* was disengaged at break of day by certain Troops that the Governor of *Pignerol* had caused to march all night. The *Waldenses* retreated into their Intrenchments, thinking that they would come and attack them, but the Enemies being gathered together in greater numbers than the day before, were content to encamp out of the reach of a Pistol-shot; without shooting on either side but at random for two days together. Whilst things passed thus in *Peironse*, the Body of the Kings Army repassed the *Cluson* to the Fort of *Peironse* on the side of *France*, then *Catinat* made a Detachment of Horse commanded by *Melac*, who having passed the River on two Bridges, fetch'd a compass about to gain the high grounds that separate the Valley of *S. Martin* from *Dauphine*. The rest of the Army having likewise passed the River, went to encamp with *Catinat* at *Bolards* part of the night, and the next day attack'd the Valley of *S. Martin* at a Village called *Rio-claret*. But since those that had the command in that Valley, did not think that they would molest them, after they had shewn their inclination to accept of the Amnesty, especially since the day appointed for their departure out of that Valley was not prefixed: The *Waldenses* were not in a condition to defend themselves nor to make any resistance, but yielded to lay down their Arms, and to implore the pity and compassion of the Conqueror. But the *French* being heated and vexed with what had pass'd before *S. Germain*, were not content only to burn, to ravish, and to pillage, but they massacred without distinction of Age or Sex, with an unparalleled fury all those that could not escape their barbarous Cruelty. *Catinat* having ravaged all the Country of *Rio-claret* after a most horrible manner, left some Troops in the Valley of *S. Martin* traversed with the Body of his Army the mountains that separate this Valley from that of *Peironse*, and encamped without any opposition, in the Community of *Praniol* in the Valley of *Peironse*; the Soldiers notwithstanding put to the edge of the Sword all that fell into their hands, without respect to Women nor Children, to the old nor the sick. In the mean time the Detachment that *Melac* commanded, having encamped one night on the eminencies of the Valley of *S. Martin*, entered through divers passages into that Valley, having certain *Waldenses* for their Guides, who were so base and treacherous as to conduct them through ways unknown to any but the Inhabitants of the Country. He left where-ever he pass'd the marks of an unheard of rage, and joyned the main Body.

Body of the Army that was encamped at *Pramol*. I shall not here give an account of the Cruelties that were exercised here on these occasions and many others: It shall be sufficient to report in the sequel of this Relation, some Examples whereby one may judge of the rest.

It is necessary to interrupt the Relation of the Actions of the French in the Valley of *Pirouse*, because their happened things in the Valley of *Lucerne* and *Angrogne* that ought to be known before.

The Army of the Duke of *Savoy* having had their Rendezvouz at the Plain of *S. John* the 2d. of *April*, was divided the next day into several Bodies, that attack'd divers Entrenchments that the *Waldenses* had made in the Valleys of *Lucerne* and *Angrogne*. The *Waldenses* not being able to resist the Enemies Cannon in the Post that were too open, where the Horse might also draw up, were forced after some resistance to abandon a part of these Entrenchments, and to withdraw into a Fort that was more advantageous above *Angrogne*, where they found themselves to be near five hundred Men. The Enemy having burnt all the Houses that they found in their way, came to storm the Fort of the *Waldenses*, who received them so warmly with their Muskets and Stones, and defended themselves so vigorously against this great Body, that they kept their Post all that day without the loss of above five men; the Enemy lost above three hundred, though they were covered with an Entrenchment beyond Pistol shot. The *Waldenses* fearing that they should not be able to keep this Fort any longer, by reason that the Troops increased, passed into another distant an hundred paces beyond it, in a more convenient place, there they expected with great resolution the Army that advanced to attack them; when the next day being the 24th of *April*, they were informed that the Valley of *S. Martin* was surrendered, and that the French were coming on their backs; for from that Valley there is an easie passage to those of *Lucerne* and *Angrogne*. This news obliged the *Waldenses* to treat with Don *Gabriel* of *Savoy*, Uncle to and General of the Armies of the Duke of *Savoy*, and with the rest of the General Officers, who having understood the mind of his Royal Highness, promised positively on his part and on their own, that the *Waldenses* should be absolutely pardoned; and that they should be remitted to the terms of the Order of the 9th of *April*, provided they would yield themselves up to his Clemency: But the *Waldenses* making some difficulty to confide in this promise, Don *Gabriel* who had notice of it, sent them a Note written and signed with his own hand in the name of his Royal Highness, to this effect, *Lay down your Arms immediately, and submit your selves to his Royal Highness's Clemency, in so doing,*

doing, assure your selves that he will pardon you, and that your persons and those of your Wives and Children shall not be touched. An assurance of this nature might give full satisfaction to the *Waldenses* for the security of their lives and liberties. For besides that this promise was made in the name and on the part of the Duke; on the other hand, though it had been made only by Don *Gabriel* and the General Officers, it ought not to be the less inviolable. The *Waldenses* then lay down their Arms, relying on this promise, and the greatest part of them went and surrendered themselves to their Enemies, believing that they should be quickly released. But all those that yielded themselves into their hands, were made Prisoners, and carried to the City of *Lucerne*, under pretence of leading them to his Royal Highness to make their submissions. The Enemies seized also all the Posts that the *Waldenses* possessed in the Community of *Angrogne*; they were not content only to plunder, to pillage and to burn the Houles of these poor People, but they also caused a great number of the *Waldenses* of what Age or Sex soever, to be put to the edg of the Sword, they ravished abundance of Women and Virgins, and in fine, committed Actions so barbarous and brutish, that they are enough to strike horror into the minds of all those that have any shame or sense of humanity left. There were nevertheless many *Waldenses*, who after this composition dispersed themselves up and down, not being willing to deliver themselves into the hands of their Enemies, till they had heard what became of the first that did: seeing then on the one hand, that the Army exercised all manner of outrages whithersoever they came, and on the other, that all those that had surrendered themselves were detained, they hid themselves in the Woods, and sent a Petition to Don *Gabriel* by a man of S. *John* named *Bartholomew Fraschie*, to entreat the release of their Brethren whom they kept in hold contrary to their word, and to cause a cessation of those Acts of Hostility that the Army executed after so barbarous a manner. Don *Gabriel* returned no answer to this request; but certain Officers replied to *Fraschie*, that they carried the *Waldenses* to *Lucerne*, for no other cause, but to ask forgiveness of his Royal Highness, and that afterwards they should be released. In the mean time Don *Gabriel* caused the highest places of the Valley of *Angrogne* to be gained by part of his Army, who finding no more opposition, came as far as the Tower, being the most considerable Fort of the *Waldenses*, in which they had the greatest part of their Cattle. The Marquess *de Parelle* who commanded this Body of the Army, gave the *Waldenses* to understand, that a Peace being concluded by the Capitulation of *Angrogne*, he offered to them the enjoyment of the fruits of

of the said Peace. He assured them to this effect, on the Word and Honour of a Gentleman, That if they would deliver themselves into his hands, their Persons and those of their Wives and Children should be preserved harmless; that they might carry away with them what they had a mind to, without fear of having any thing taken from them; that they had nothing to do but to come to *Lucerne* to make their Submissions to his Royal Highness; and that upon this condition, those that were willing to turn Catholicks, might return with all Safety to their Houses and Goods; and those that would go out of the Estates of *Piedmont*, should have Liberty to depart, conformably to the Order of the 9th of *April*. The *Waldenses* that were in the Field and in the Tower yielded themselves again, upon the credit of these Promises, that were no better performed than the other: for the Enemies were no sooner entred within the bounds of the Tower, when not only all that belonged to the *Waldenses*, was left to the plunder of the Soldiers, and of the *Banditi* of *Mondovi* their mortal Enemies, who enriched themselves with their spoils: but those poor people, the greatest part of whom consisted of old Men, of sick Persons, and of Women and Children, were made Prisoners, with some Ministers who were among them, and hurried along so violently, that those who through Age or Infirmitiy could not march so fast as the Soldiers would have them, had their Throats cut, or were flung headlong down Precipices.

To return to the *French*, whom we left at *Pramol* in the Valley of *Peirouse*, they committed almost the same Outrages that the Dukes Troops had done at *Angrogne* and at the Tower in the Valley of *Lucerne*. They were encamped in a Quarter of the Community of *Pramol*, called *la Rue*, distant about half an hours march from another Quarter called *Peumian*, where a Party of the Communities of *Pramol*, *St. Germain*, *Prarustia* and *Rocheplate* were retreated, to the number of 1500 persons, as well Men as Women and Children. The *French* might easily make a descent from their Quarters to *St. Germain*, and carry away the two hundred *Waldenses* who had so valiantly defended themselves before, and were retreated within their Retrenchments: but they being informed of the loss of the Valley of *St. Martin*, and of the Enemies March, quitted this Intrenchment, fearing lest they should be surprized in it, and went into *Peumian* with their Brethren. They were consulting how they might defend themselves against the *French* who prepared to attack them, when certain Inhabitants of the Valleys who had revolted to the Enemy, came and assured them that the Valleys of *Angrogne* and *Lucerne*

eerne had already submitted to their Prince's discretion, who had pardoned them, and referred them to the terms of the Order of the 9th of April. They told them also, That he only offer'd them to put an end to a War, the weight whereof they were not able to sustain alone, and to procure for themselves an advantageous Peace. This News having in part broke the measures of the *Waldenses*, they sent Deputies and a Drummer to treat with the General of the *French Army*, who desired nothing more than a Proposition of Peace. He told them that his Royal Highness's Intention was to pardon them, and promised them positively on the part of the Prince and on his own behalf, the Lives and Liberty of the *Waldenses*, with a permission to return with all security to their Houses and Goods, provided they would readily lay down their Arms: and whereas the Deputies represented to him that they feared lest the *French*, being exasperated with what had passed at St. Germain, should revenge themselves on the *Waldenses* when they were disarmed; he made great Protestations to them, and confirmed them with Oaths, that although the whole Army should pass by their Houses, yet they should not kill so much as a Chicken. This Proposition being made, *Catinat* detained with him one of the Deputies, and sent back the others to give notice to the *Waldenses*, and to oblige all them that were dispersed to meet together the next day, being the 25th of April, at *Peumian*, to the end that every one might return to his House after they were informed of the Peace, while the *Waldenses* were gathering together their scattered Families at *Peumian*, *Catinat* gave an account of this Capitulation to *Don Gabriel*, who sent a Courier to him in the Evening, who passing through *Peumian* assured the *Waldenses* that he brought Peace; and the next day at his Return, he told them that the Peace was concluded. They were so well persuaded of it, that they had laid down their Arms the day before, observing the conditions of the Treaty, and confiding wholly in *Catinat's* Promises. In these Circumstances they were expecting the News at *Peumian*, when there arrived a person named *St. Peter*, one of the Kings Captains in the Garrison of the Fort of *Peironse*, with several Dragoons with him. This Captain, who was very well known by the *Waldenses*, repeated to them the assurances of Peace, and caused the Men to be put in one Quarter, and the Women and Children in another. The *French* Troops being arrived at the same time, told the Men that they had Orders to lead them to their own Houses, and caused them to march four by four. These poor people being forced to leave their Wives and their Daughters exposed to the discretion of the Soldiers, were conducted, not to their Houses

ses, as they were told, but to *Don Gabriel* who was encamped on the Mountain *de la Vachiere*, and caused them to be carried Prisoners to *Lucerne*. In the mean time, the Women suffer'd all the abominable usage and cruelty that the rage of brutish Soldiers could invent; for these Barbarians were not satisfied with rifling them of all the money they had about them, but they ravished many Women and Virgins after a manner that modesty forbids to relate; and murther'd several of them that offer'd to resist in defence of their Honour. *Catinat* was not present at this that was acted at *Peumian*. He left the management of this Affair to certain Officers, without doubt that he might be out of the hearing of those Complaints that the *Waldenses* might justly have made to him, or that he might not be a spectator of these villainous Actions. Howsoever it were, it is certain that besides the Women that were killed, and those that escaped by flight from the persecution of these Monsters, and saved themselves in the neighbouring Woods, in danger of being killed by the Musquets they shot to stop them: all the rest of them were dragg'd to divers Prisons after a most inhuman manner.

It were needless here to alledge any reasons to make it appear that the Enemies of the *Waldenses* have broke in these Encounters the most sacred and most inviolable Laws. This Relation of what hath pass'd is sufficient to confirm the truth, since it is evident that the *Waldenses* have fallen, as so many Sacrifices to the false promises of their Enemies. And it is in vain that they pretend to excuse themselves from this Treachery, under pretence that the *Waldenses* were rebellious Subjects, who had taken up Arms against their lawful Prince; for besides that it were easie to demonstrate that they cannot be accused of Rebellion, since they have only made use of a natural and warrantable Defence against the unjust and violent oppression of the Council of the *Propagation*, and of their other Enemies; on the other hand, the Question is not whether the *Waldenses* have a right to do what they have done? The case is precisely concerning the execution of those Promises that have been made to them notwithstanding this pretended Rebellion, since this is the only Foundation of those Promises that they made. Now it is certain that the breaking of their Word in this nature can never be justified but by those that follow this pernicious Maxim, *That Faith is now to be kept with Heretics*. It is certain also, That Kings and Princes are so much the more obliged to condemn this Maxim, in regard that they are the lively Images of God Almighty, who hath never failed to keep his faithful Promises, and who hath always punished Perjury and Perfidiousness either

cither in the person of those that have committed it, or in that of their Policity. It is also in vain that they would say, that when the *Waldenses* surrendered themselves, they only promised them their Lives, according to the relation of the contrary party; for it hath been justified that they had positively promised them their Liberty. But supposing that they had only promised them their Lives, can it be said in good truth that they have kept their Word? Is it not true, on the contrary, That they have caused almost all to expire under the weight of an unsupportable misery, and of the hardest Captivity that ever was?

The Valley of *Peirouse* being reduced as the others, by the Capitulation of *Piemian*, a Party of the *French* Army quitted this Valley, and went to join *Don Gabriel* at *la Vachiere*: then it was that they gathered together the poor *Waldenses* from all Parts, and dragged them into divers Prisons or Castles, under pretence of leading them to his Royal Highness to ask his pardon; but that which was most afflicting and most lamentable, was this, That they refused, upon their earnest Prayers and Tears, to put their Families together. They separated a Father from his Child, and a Husband from his Wife, to take away from them all means of supporting and comforting one another. They broke the sacred bonds of Nature and Consanguinity, to the end that they might be the less able to withstand those Temptations, and to undergo those Evils that they had prepared for them; they would have those who could not bear the sufferings and miseries of a close Confinement, to be consumed with the corroding anguish and regret of being separated so far from their Kindred. There was a great number of young Boys and Girls whom they put not in prison, but dispersed through *Piedmont* in private Houses; yet this was not done upon point of Equity, but only to make them change their Religion, to cause them to be instructed in the *Catholick*, and to ravish them from their Parents.

There was also a considerable number of *Waldenses* who had not surrendered themselves, and were not taken. For those of *Villars*, of *Boby*, and some other Places in the Valley of *Lucerne*, would not come to composition as the rest did, that they might not partake of the same fortune. Several of those of *Angrogne* had joyned with them, having seen the Enemies break their word; and several *Waldenses* of the Valley of *St. Martin* had took Sanctuary, and retreated into the Woods and in the Rocks, to escape the barbarous fury of the *French*, who gave no Quarter. The Enemies were resolv'd to become Masters of these *Waldenses* by force or by craft, as they had done to the others.

others. For the effecting this, while a body of the Army of the Duke of Savoy was engaged against those that remained in Arms in the Valley of *Lucerne*, the French returned into that of *St. Martin* with the Marquis de Parelle, who was a Person well known to the *Waldenses*, and very fit to persuade them. He knew by experience, that Policy was a more certain means to gain his ends than open Force. He made use of then certain *Waldenses* who had yielded themselves, in whom the People had much confidence. He caused them to march at the head of the Army, and with Pistols presented to their Breasts, forced them not only to serve as Guides to the French, to discover the *Waldenses* in their most hidden Recesses; but also to write several Letters to the Valley of *St. Martin*, to exhort their Country-men to submit themselves to the Clemency of their Prince, whose Pardon was offered to all those who would accept it: and because the measures that they had taken with respect to those that had surrendered themselves, might take away the credit of this Sollicitation, they added, in many of these Letters, That the Prisoners should be suddenly released; whereupon, on the sight of these Letters, the Writing and Character whereof they knew, and on the assurance that the Marquis de Parelle, and the other general Officers, gave the *Waldenses* concerning the Peace and Favour of the Prince, a great number of these poor people delivered themselves into their hands within a few days: many others were taken or butcher'd by the Soldiers; but those that yielded themselves, and those that were taken, had the same fate; and were equally carried Prisoners into divers Prisons or Castles.

Whilst Subtilty or Cruelty depopulated the Valley of *St. Martin* of its Inhabitants, let us see what happens in the Valley of *Lucerne*. The *Waldenses* possessed among others two Posts, one called *Jaimis*, and the other *Chamtrona*, beyond the Tower, wherein a Party of those that had escaped at *Angryne* had cast themselves. These two Posts covered *Villars*, where there were about a thousand Persons, as well old Men as Women and Children. A detachment of the Army of the Duke of Savoy enforced by the *Banditi* of *Mondovi*, came to attack these two Posts, wherein the *Waldenses* defended themselves a whole day with extraordinary Courage: They killed a great number of Soldiers and considerable Officers, among whom was the Commander of the *Banditi*. They had but six men killed and as many wounded. The Enemies were extremely wearied, and having no more Ammunition left, began to think of a Retreat; but since they might have been easily pursued, and defeated in Retreating, they made use of this

Stratagem: Several Officers having laid their Arms and their Hats on the ground, approached in the Evening to the Intrenchment of *Chamrama*, with a Handkerchief tied to the top of a Stick, and demanded a Parley, to make Propositions of Peace: they shewed a Paper, and told the *Waldenses* that they had just now received Letters, the purport of which was, That the Peace was concluded in all the Valleys; that his Royal Highness had given a General Pardon to all his Subjects, and that those that were still in Arms were comprehended as well as the others: they added, That they had Orders not to fight any more, but to retreat; and exhorted the *Waldenses* to do the same, and to accept of this favour that his Royal Highness had offer'd them, whre-of the *Podesta* *Prat*, who was there present, might assure them. This *Podesta* being well known to the *Waldenses*, having joyned his Protestantions with those of the Officers, and all together having positively promised them their Lives and Liberty provided that they would retire: the *Waldenses* of *Chamrama* confiding in their Promises, left off firing, and gave their Enemies opportunity of retreating, and retreated also themselves, being all persuaded that the Peace was made. There were several of the Community of *Angrogne* who met at the Tower to enjoy the fruits of this Peace, but they were presently committed to Prison. The Credulity of the *Waldenses* made them lose a fair opportunity of revenging themselves on their Enemies; for they might without trouble or danger have vanquished those Troops that had no Ammunition of War left, and the greatest part of whom were in disorder. The Enemy that feigned to retreat, only to cause the *Waldenses* to retire, and to oblige them to abandon the Post of *Chamrama* that was so advantageous, being reinforced with some Succors, immediately seized on the said Post: Those that were at *Faimet*, and had made no Composition, were thereupon forced to quit their Post, because it was commanded by the other, and to wheel off to the Hills of *Villars*. The Enemy marched on after them, and encamped at *Bonnet* on the Avenues of *Villars* and *Baby*; they remained there two days without storming the *Waldenses*, who were got together, and might make four or five hundred men. The Officers of the Army spent this time in making Propositions of Peace to them, accompanied with fair Promises if they yielded, and terrible Threatnings if they refused. The *Waldenses* replied to these Propositions, That they were desirous of nothing more than Peace, but that that which they offer'd them was more lamentable than War, since they could not purchase it but at the price of their Liberty; that notwithstanding

standing the Peace that they had promised to those of *Chamrams*, in pursuance of which they had quitted their Post, they had not left imprisoning those that surrendered themselves; and that the Example of their Brethren had sufficiently instructed them what they were to expect from such Propositions: however this hindred not a great number of *Waldenses* from going to deliver themselves into their hands, on the account that they had sworn to them, those who would submit should return quickly to their Houses, without being carried to his Royal Highness to beg his Pardon; but these also were clap'd in Prison, and treated after the same manner as the others. There is great reason to admire the easiness with which the *Waldenses* suffer'd themselves so often to be deceived. But it is to be observed, that there were many who could not believe that it was possible for them to resist after the reddition of the Body of the Valleys, others feared lest Resistance would be of mischievous consequence to their Wives and Children that were in Prison, and the greatest part could not be persuaded that their Enemies would be so cruel as to cause those to perish in Prison who had surrendered themselves. They imagined that they should be discharged for a few Weeks Captivity, and that afterwards they should obtain their Liberty.

However, the *Waldenses* being very much weakned, left *Villars*, which the Enemies seised. They gave them respite till the 4th of May, when the Troops being re-inforced, went to attack *Bobi*, where the *Waldenses* were retired; but they were vigorously repulsed by 150 *Waldenses* who were on the Mountain of *Subjusque*, and without the loss of a man, kill'd some Officers and a great number of Soldiers. Eight days after, the Army of *France* joined that of the Duke of *Savoy*. The Enemies then made their last Effort to gain *Bobi*; but the *Waldenses* defended themselves so resolutely, that after a Fight that lasted all the day, they forced the Army to retire, and to go and encamp at *Sarsena*, with the loss of abundance of their men. The next day the Marques *de Parelle*, who came from the Valley of *St. Martin*, with a great Detachment pass'd the Mountain of *Julian*, which is one of the *Alpes*, that was thought, till then, inaccessible, and prepared to take the *Waldenses* from above. This obliged the *Waldenses* to abandon *Bobi*, and to convey themselves into the Woods and Rocks. The Marques *de Parelle*, and the Count *de Birchanteau*, having occupied the Posts that the *Waldenses* had quitted, sent after them in their Retreat divers Persons to exhort them to submit, and to offer them favour: several of these poor People being worn out with

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the Fatigue, and sore pressed with Hunger and Misery, yielded to this Offer, but they lost their Liberty into the bargain. Others surrendered themselves to the Governor of *Mireboue*, on an assurance that he had given them of their Lives and Liberty ; but he rewarded their Faith with a rigorous Imprisonment. There were several who had withdrawn themselves into the Mountain of *Vandalin*, and sought for some time with much Courage and good Fortune : but at last they did as the others, and let themselves be seduced by the Count de *la Roche*, Governor of the Valleys. He promised them positively, by a Letter wrote with his own hand, that they should return to their Houses with all freedom ; but they had no sooner quitted their Post, than that he caused them to be carried to Prison, and took from them the Letter that he had given them.

The Enemies of the *Waldenses* having thus by the means aforesaid taken away the Lives of a multitude of People, deprived more than twelve thousand *Waldenses* of their Liberty, and taken away and dispersed two thousand Children, thought that they had no more to do. They proceeded to carry on their Injustice to the utmost, and caused all the Goods of the *Waldenses* to be confiscated.

After this manner it was, that the Valleys of *Piedmont* have been depopulated of their ancient Inhabitants ; that the light of the Gospel hath been extinguished in a Country where it hath shone so bright for so many Ages ; that Perfidiousness and Treachery hath triumphed over the good Faith of the *Waldenses* ; that the Council of the *Propagation* and the rest of their Enemies, have executed the design they had formed for their Extirpation ; and that the *Waldenses* have unjustly suffer'd, and for the sole cause of their Religion, this horrible Persecution and lamentable Dissipation, that ought to draw Tears from the eyes of all good Christians. But for the more perfect knowledge of what Spirit their Persecutors have been animated with, it will be requisite to take a prospect of the Outrages and Cruelties they have committed on these occasions.

Although it is my design to give an Account only of those dismal effects of their rage that were produced after the Capitulations, yet I cannot but mention the barbarous Enormities wherewith the French signalized their entry into the Valley of *St. Martin* ; not only because they exceed those bounds that Christians ought to set to their Victories, but also because they were committed on Persons not capable of defending themselves ; it were easie to publickly view the Massacre of so many old Men, Women, and little Children that were sacrificed

to the fury of the Soldiers, the desolation of those poor Women and Maidens, who after they had been ravished, were constrained to march stark naked at the head of the Army, to serve for Guides to the French, and the monstrous and diabolical actions of those enraged Soldiers that satiated their infamous Lusts on the very Bodies of those whom they had deprived of Life. But I shall pass by all those things, to produce some examples of Cruelties and Oppressions executed after the subduing of the Valleys.

The Soldiers committed several Massacres at *Angrogne*, which I shall not specific, that I may not be engaged in too tedious a recital. They ravished many Women and Maidens, whose Names (for modesty sake) I shall spare, by reason that several of them are yet living. They would also have deflowered *Margaret Marande* who was not fourteen years old, and because *James Marande* her Father, and *Margaret Marande* made some opposition to this Violence, they were most inhumanly butchered. *Susanna Olivette* and *Margaret Boline* endeavouring to preserve their Chastity lost their Lives by the hands of these Barbarians. *Joseph David* being wounded at *Angrogne*, was carried by the Soldiers into a neighbouring House, where they caused him to be burnt. Four Women and three Children of *Prarutin* were murdered in a Cave in a Rock where they had hid themselves. *Daniel Fourneron*'s Mother aged fourscore years was tumbled down a Precipice coming from the Tower-field, because she did not go fast enough. *M. Deumian* kill'd the Wife of *James Fourneron* and *Magdalen Roche*, with a Back-Sword, because they had not delivered soon enough the Mony that they had about them. *Mary Romain* a handsome young Woman espoused to *James Grie* was massacred for striving to maintain her Honour. Another Maid for keeping hers, being cast into a River, was killed with a Musket-shot. Several Women and Maidens who are yet living, were dragged by the Hair into Houses, where they were ravished with abominable circumstances; there was one of these who through despair flung herself headlong out at Window. *Honorina Fayer* a young Child, being found with the Woman, was shot to death with a Fuzee: A great number of Women and Virgins trying to save themselves in the Woods to get out of danger of the Violences of the Soldiers, were dispatched with Muskets that were shot off to stop them. The Marquess *de Parelle* and several *Waldenses* whom he caused to march to serve him for Guides, passing through *Plumian* to go into the Valley of *S. Martin*, found the dead Bodies of many little Children cut in pieces, several naked Women massacred with Swords, among whom there were some

some that had Stones thrust into their Privy Parts: They saw also several Soldiers that carried in their Hats the mark of an horrible Cruelty, and of a diabolical Impudicity, at the sight whereof, the Marques de Parelle was offended. In the Valley of S. Martin there were six men, twenty Women, and some Children, who went to surrender themselves in the City of Peironse, upon promise that was made them that they should receive no harm. But as soon as they were come they shot these six men to death in the presence of their Wives. John Ribet of Mace being apprehended, they caused his Arms and Legs to be burnt, to oblige him to change his Religion; but God gave him the Grace to obtain the Crown of Martyrdom, in constantly suffering the Death that these Butchers put him to. They also inhumanly murdered Bartholomew Ribet, James Breus and his Son. They tyed a poor infirm Person to a Horses Tail, and drag'd him along till he expired. They hung up an old blind Woman before her own House. They found a Woman at the point of being brought to bed, and committed two Murders at one blow, taking away her Life and that of the Child in her Belly. They pursued after two young Maids from a place called le Colet to another quarter named Bonnot, where having overtook them they ravished them, and at length shot them to death and hack'd them in pieces. Four Women falling at the same time into the hands of these Barbarians, had the same fortune, with this difference only, that before they were ravished and massacred, they saw their Childrens Throats cut, at a place called the Fountains. They cut open the Body of a Mother and her Child, and tore out their Entrails which they burned in the Fire. They killed a great number of Children in the same place, because they were sick, and had not strength to follow them into the Prisons where they would have carried them. Twenty two Persons who were for a long time hid in the Woods, the greatest part of whom were Women and Children, were found by these Murtherers on the Mountain of Palue, and flung down headlong into dreadful Abysses cross the points of the Rocks, where the Entrails of these Martyrs were seen a great while after. In the Valley of Lucerne, Susanna the Wife of Daniel Violin, Katharine the Wife of James Negrin, and Anne Melanote and her Daughter, had their Throats cut with a Baionet. Some Soldiers having used their utmost endeavours to flea Daniel Pelleine alive, and not being able to pull the Skin over his Shoulders, laid him along upon the ground, put a great Stone upon his Belly, and caused him to expire in this condition. Daniel Blumerol lost his life by the means of a Cord that they

they tied violently about his Head, his Belly, and his Privy Members: *Anne* and *Magdalen Vittorie*, and several others were burnt. The Wife of *Daniel Monin* was massacred with a Back-Sword, and had her Head chopt in pieces. *Anne Bastianne* was tumbled down the Precipices. *David Moudon* had his Head cleft asunder with a broad Sword. *Margaret Salvajote* being stript stark naked, was run through with a Dagger in several parts of her Body, but she did not suffer only this cruel Death in her own person; for before they cut her Throat, these Ruffians mortised her little Daughter about seven months old before her face, and dashed her Head against the Rock, till all her Brains flew out. They cut *Mary Salvajot* in pieces with a Scimeter. They pierced *Mary Durand* through with a Dagger because she resisted their design to ravish her. They cut the Throat of the Mother of the Sieur *Bertrand* a Minister, a Person that was 80 years old, and lay Bed-rid through extreme old Age. A certain Maiden of *Boby* was tyed stark naked cross a Mule, with her Privy-parts exposed to publick view, and was led about in this condition through the City of *Lucerne*. Amongst a great number of *Waldenses* whom they hanged at *Boby*, there was one called *Anthony Malanot*, whom the Soldiers shot at several times after he was dead, taking for their Mark those parts of his Body that modesty forbids to name. The Soldiers having found a Woman named *Jaimonate* in a hole in a Rock on the Mountain of *Carbonnieres*, brought her to the Marquess de *Bevil* Colonel of the Regiment of *Savoy*, who demanded of her how long she had been in that Cavern, and what Food she got there: she made Answer, that she had been there eight days, and that she nourished her self with a little Milk of a Shee-Goat that shee took along with her: They would force her at length to discover where the *Waldenses* were that hid themselves in the Rocks; but she protesting that she knew nothing of them, the Soldiers having put her to a sort of Torture by fastening their Matches to her fingers to make her speak, tied her Feet to her Head backwards, and in this posture hurled her down a Precipice: but as she was stopped in falling, the Soldiers flinging Stones and Brick-bats at her, caused her Bowels to drop out of her Belly, and thrust her down headlong in the presence of the Marquess de *Bevil*. A young Lad of the Valleys, by name *David Magnot*, whom the said Marquess took for his Domestick Servant, and who had afterwards made his escape, was an Eye-witness of, and related this horrible Action. *Daniel Moudon* an Elder of the Church of *Roras*, after he had been spectator of the Death of his two Sons *John* and *James Moudon*, whose Heads the Soldiers cut off, having seen *John's* Wife cleaved asunder

asunder from her Breast to the bottom of her Belly, her Child also knock'd on the Head that was but six weeks old, and *James's* two Children cut in pieces, one whereof was four years old, and the other but fourteen months, was constrained by these Butchers to carry the Heads of his two Sons on his shoulders, and to travel thus bare-foot two hours, till they came to *Lucerne*, where he was hanged in the middle of these Heads that were stuck upon the Gibbet. I shall pass over an infinite number of examples of Barbarity of the like nature; not to mention the miserable Death of so many old Men, Women, young Infants and sick persons that died with cold and hunger in the Woods or in the clefts of the Rocks: Not to mention an incredible number of Prisoners that were hanged without form of Justice on the branches of Trees, or in the Towns and Villages, among whom there was one *Paul. Megle* aged 27 years, whom they carried from his Bed to the Gallows. At present I shall content my self with what I have already related, which may be sufficient to shew how far the fury of the Enemies of the *Waldenses* proceeded. I shall only add here the Death of the Sicur *Leides* that equally deserves pity and admiration: He was Minister of *Prabe* in the Valley of *S. Martin*, who had escaped at the subduing of the Valleys, and had hid himself for some time within the Caverns of the Rocks; He was taken by a Detachment of Soldiers, and carried to *Lucerne* into the Palace of the Marques of *Angrogne*; where the Duke of *Savoy* was at that time: He was put in prison within a Tower of this Palace, and fetter'd with a kind of Stocks that were made with two thick pieces of Timber, between which they lock'd his Legs: He remained a great while in this condition, fed with Bread and Water, not being able to lie down by reason of the weight of those Shackles; it was reported that he had taken up Arms, but it was a false Accusation, from which he was cleared even by the Testimony of those that apprehended him: They let him lie several months in Prison, without bringing him to his Tryal, and some Judges themselves desired to be excused from being concern'd in his Proces. In the mean time there was not a day pass'd wherein he was not exposed to the Persecutions of the Monks and Priests, and had great Disputes with them about matters of Religion, wherein he came off always victorious. They caused one day two Bibles to be brought, wherein he demonstrated to them so clearly the truth of his Belief, that being ashamed and put to confusion, they retired after a Conference of four hours. They often threatened him with Death, thinking thereby to affright him, and told him several times that there was no other means to preserve himself, but by turning Catholick. But he received the news of his Death with a great deal of Tranquillity

Tranquillity. He replied to them, that although he knew well that they could not put him to death with Justice, since he was not taken in Arms, and that besides the Duke of Savoy had pardoned all his Subjects; nevertheless he was prepared for death, esteeming himself most happy to be able to suffer for the Name of Jesus Christ. He fortified by his example and pious Exhortations the Prisoners that were in the same Palace, some of whom were permitted to see him. At last, the Monks and Priests provoked with his Zeal and Constancy, found out Judges who were willing enough to condemn him to Death. The day that he was executed, the Auditor *Savoy* caused Sentence to be pronounced against him in the presence of certain Monks, he heard the publication thereof with a resignation altogether Christian, without any emotion, trouble, or fear appearing in his Countenance. The Monks left him not that day, and although he desired them several times to leave him to his repose, that he might pray to God freely without disturbance, yet they always persecuted him, and forced him to enter into a Dispute with them, thinking that he was not in a condition to maintain it; but he acquitted himself with that Courage and presence of Mind, that they were astonished at it. This did not hinder them nevertheless from coming again the next morning at break of day, to give themselves the pleasure of tormenting him, even to the end of his life. He said as he was going out of the Prison, that it was the day of a double deliverance to him, since his Body went out of Captivity, and his Soul was going quickly out the Prison of his Body to enter into Heaven, to enjoy the full Liberties and Pleasures of the blessed. He went to Execution with an holy Joy and admirable Resolution, despising equally both the Life that the Monks offered him, and the Death that was set before his eyes; he made a long and good Prayer at the foot of the Scaffold, with which all that assisted were extremely touched. He pronounced these words on the Ladder, O my God, into thy hands I recommend my Spirit; and dyed a Death so edifying, that the Monks themselves, who forsook him not to the last, were forced to avouch that he died like a Saint.

At that time there remained only in the Valleys certain Inhabitants, who preferring Death before Slavery, would not hearken to any Propositions of Peace whatsoever. Some of these were in the Valley of S. Martin, and although they could not know one anothers Designs, because the Army was encamped between the two Valleys, and hindered them from having any Communication, yet they were all of the same mind, and equally took up a resolution worthy of immortal Praise. They remained a long time hid and distressed in the Mountains, that they

might avoid falling into the hands of the Enemies that every day sent out Detachments to surprize them ; one cannot sufficiently admire the Constancy with which they endured all the Fatigues and all the Miseries to which they were exposed, but especially that whereby they suffered the extremity of hunger, for they were often compelled to feed on the grass of the Fields, and to eat Dogs and other Beasts that came to devour the dead Bodies of those *Waldenses* that were left unburied. But the French and the *Banditi* of *Mondovi* being retired, they were no more so hard ly pressed by the Duke of *Savoy's* Army that remained alone in the Valley. Then it was that they that were in the Valley of *Lucerne* began to go out of their places of refuge to search for some Victuals wherewith to sustain their languishing Lives. There were found in this Valley but 42 Men, some Women, and Children when they were got together ; nevertheless they made several Incursions into the Plain, from whence they always carried away Victuals and Booty, defeated in several Rencounters several Detachments of the Enemies, killed or drove away a great number of *Savoyards* that were come to inhabit in the Valleys, and lastly for some months committed Actions, so stout, so bold and so vigorous, that they put the Enemies to Contribution, and forced them to furnish them with Provisions for some time, to hinder them from continuing their inroads into the Plain. I shall not here recite all these marvellous Actions, that I may not be engaged in too long a Relation : I shall only say thus much, That the Court of *Turin* having to no purpose made use of force to drive them out of the Valleys, caused an offer to be made them of safe Conduct, in due form, and Hostages for the security of their retreat. They that brought the Proposition to the *Waldenses*, took no care to avouch that they acted by order of the Court of *Turin*. But they affirmed on the contrary, that they treated only on their own account, and at the motion of some Persons that had promised to procure for them these safe Conducts, and to cause Hostages to be given ; but it is certain that these Overtures were not made without the participation of the Court : For besides that no private person durst have undertook such a negotiation of his own head, the safe Conducts that were afterwards dispatch'd make it appear plain enough, that all was done by the orders of the Court. However it were, the *Waldenses* at first refused to hearken to this Proposition, whether it were because they thought that they ought not to give any credit to their words, or because they were resolved either to perish, or to bring the Prisoners out of Captivity, Death being more eligible to them than Life, so long as their Brethren groaned under their Chains. Some time after this Proposition was renewed,

newed, they made use of divers Considerations to oblige the *Waldenses* to accept it. They told them that the D. of Savoy had declared that as long as they were in Arms, the Prisoners should not be released, and promised them positively that as soon as they were gone, orders should be given to set their Brethren at liberty: insomuch that the *Waldenses* considering on the one side that the Winter drew nigh, and that they could not expect any relief; and on the other side, that their Resistance might give them a pretence to detain the Prisoners, thought it was best for them to retire out of the Estates of *Piedmont*. It was agreed then and ordained, That they should go out of the Valley's with their Wives and Children, Arms and Baggage, in two Troops or Brigades, that should be defrayed and conducted to *Switzerland* at two several times, by one of his Royal Highness's Captains named *Perret*, with safe Conducts in due form: That for the security of the first Troop that should depart, Hostages should be left in the Valley's in the hands of the second, who should keep them till they were certified of the Arrival of the first; and that as soon as the first Troop should be arrived, this Captain should give them an Officer of his Kindred for an Hostage till such time as the second Troop should be also arrived. This Treaty was faithfully executed; for these two Troops arrived happily in a place of security with their Arms and Baggage under the Conduct of the said Captain. One remarkable Circumstance is not to be forgot; that is, That the *Waldenses* could never be brought to consent to a Retreat, till they had sent them back some of their Kinsfolks that were in Prison, and in effect carried them away along with them; whence it may be inferred, That this Treaty was managed by the Court of *Turin*; since these Prisoners could not have been delivered but by their Orders.

The *Waldenses* that were in the Valley of *St. Martin* acted almost the same things as the other had done in the Valley of *Lucerne*: for although they were reduced at last to twenty five men, and some Women and Children, yet they defended themselves with so much Courage and Resolution, that they procured for themselves safe Conducts and Securities to pass into *Switzerland* with their Wives and Children, Arms and Baggage. It is said, That those that were in one Valley knew not what passed in the other, because the Army hindered them from keeping any correspondence one with another. If they had been able to joyn together, or to have heard any News one of another, they had without doubt made a more advantagous Composition, and it may be have rescued their Brethren out of Captivity.

vity. For whether the Court of *Turin* would have been obliged to maintain an Army in the Valleys to hinder the Incursion of the *Waldenses*, or whether they had a design to re-people that Country with *Savoyards*, who would not care to go and inhabit there, as long as there were any in Arms ; it is probable that to cause them to depart, they would have consented to deliver the Prisoners.

Whilst the valiant *Waldenses* retreated into *Switzerland* by virtue of the Hostages and safe Conducts that their Arms had procured, the generous reformed *Cantons* transacted for the liberty of the Prisoners. They had wrote several times in vain to the Court of *Turin* on this Subject : but as their Zeal and Charity never fails, they called an Assembly at *Arau* in the Month of *September* 1686, in which they resolved once more to demand the release of the Prisoners : to this effect they sent two Deputies to the Count de *Govon* the Duke of *Savoy*'s Resident at *Lucerne* in *Switzerland*. These Deputies having carried the Proposition to this Resident, and having represented to him the reasons that induced the Reformed *Cantons* to intercede for the *Waldenses*, concluded a Treaty with him in the beginning of *October* by agreement of their Superiors. The tenor of this Treaty was, that the Duke of *Savoy* should give liberty to all the Prisoners to go into *Switzerland* in safety, and that he should cause them to be cloathed, conducted, and their Charges born to the frontiers of *Switzerland*, where the Reformed *Cantons* shall cause them to be received and conducted into the heart of their Country, that they may not be in a condition to re-enter into the Territories of *Piedmont*. When this Treaty was made they were ignorant without doubt at *Lucerne*, that the *Waldenses* afore-mentioned were already retired ; for there is an Article that imports that the Duke should give them safe Conducts in due form, that they might be able to retreat freely and securely, which they would not have inserted in this Treaty, if they had known what had passed with respect to them. However the *Cantons* immediately ratified this Treaty ; but the Duke of *Savoy* did not ratify it till some time after, in a Letter that he wrote to them on this occasion, in which he appoints the Road through which the Prisoners should pass, by Mountains then inaccessible, and by the Country of *Valay* that belongs not to the Duke of *Savoy*, nor to the *Switzers*, and thorow which there is no going without agreeing for a Passage with the Bishop of *Sion* in whose jurisdiction it is. It was evident that they designed to raise obstacles to hinder the execution of this

this Treaty; otherwise they would not have appointed a passage through other Territories than their own, where there are Roads much more convenient to go into *Switzerland*. The Reformed *Cantons* complained thereof to the Count *de Goux*, who having wrote about it to the Court of *Turin*; at length the Duke order'd their passage through that part of *Savoy* that borders on the *Canton of Bern*, and caused the Prisons to be opened; but it was in the middle of Winter and in a season so rigorous, that according to all appearance, those that had escaped the miseries of the Prisons would have perished on the way.

It would be very difficult to represent all the Miseries and Calamities that the Prisoners have endured during a Captivity of more than nine months. There are nevertheless exact *Mémoires* of what hath passed in every Prison, out of which a particular Relation might be collected: but since it would exceed the due bounds of this present Narrative, I shall only give a general Idea of the Hardships they have suffered, expecting a more particular enumeration of them hereafter. They were put in Prison at several times, according to the different Circumstances wherein they surrendered themselves or were taken. They were dispersed to the number of about two thousand, as well Men as Women and Children, into fourteen Prisons or Castles of the Estates of *Piedmont*, and they were more or less ill used according to the Humour of those that had the Government of those Prisons: but it is certain, that every where they were exposed to many Inconveniences and great Sufferings. In every Prison they had nothing but Bread and Water for their ordinary Food; neither had they as much of that as necessity required. In some Prisons they gave them very bad Bread, black and heartless without Substance, kneaded up with dirty Water taken out of Sinks and Kennels, in which they often find pieces of Mortar, Glass, and other Oidure: in other places they gave them stinking and corrupted Water, of which they could hardly drink: they were forced in some places to take it out of a Pond wherein they had watered Cattel and flung in Dogs. In some places they would not suffer them to take Water out of the Wells, but caused it to be poured into Troughs and exposed to the Sun-beams and to the heat of the Weather, that they might not drink it till it were lukewarm. In other Parts they would give them no Water but at certain set hours, out of which it was not permitted them to take any, though they were ready to dye with thirst,

Thirst; which hath caused many poor sick Persons to expire for want of a Glass of Water to refresh their parched Bowels. They were compelled almost every where to lye on the hard Bricks with which the Chambers of *Piedmont* are paved, without Straw; or if in some places they had any given them, it was either reduced to Chaff, or as rotten as Dung. They were so crowded together and stuffed up in some Prisons, that they were scarcely able to stir themselves; and when any of them dyed, which happened every day, they put others in their room, that they might be always equally pressed. The suffocating heat that there was in the Summer, and the Corruption with which the Chambers were infected, by reason of the Sick, had engendred abundance of Lice that would not let the Prisoners sleep night nor day; there were also great Worms that eat thorow their skin: there were several sick Persons to be seen that were (if we may so say) eaten up alive with Worms; for by continual lying, as not being able to rise or lift themselves up, these poor People were become so mangy, that their very skin being already putrified, parted from their Flesh and mouldred away in pieces: they left them thus dead and miserably languishing till death put a period to all their Sufferings. They have not only endured all the inconveniencies of excessive heat, but also those of extreme cold; for in the middle of Winter they never allowed them any fire to warm themselves at, nor gave them any cloths to cover themselves with, tho' they lay in upper Rooms, that for the most part had no Windows. They never were permitted neither during the Summer, nor yet in the Winter, to have any Candles or Lamps to give Light in the obscurest nights, notwithstanding they have often desired it, to find means to succor the sick, many of whom have died for want of relief: a great number of Women have also expired in the pains of Child-birth merely for want of help in the dark, and the losi of them hath been followed with that of their Infants, who have received Death the same moment wherein they should have received Life. They have put sick People whom they had separated from the whole, into open places, to be exposed to the injuries of the Air and the Weather, whether fair or foul, wet or dry. But this sort of Cruelty hath proved in some manner charitable, since it hath caused them to find an end to their Sufferings and Sorrows in that of their Lives. In other Prisons they have put many Children taken with the Small-pox into wet Yards, and on the Gutters of the Houses, forcing

forcing them to receive the water that falls from thence. They are not content not to afford the sick any relief themselves, but hinder others from bringing them any sustenance, as Water-gruel, Broth, &c. Whenever the Prisoners dare so much as to complain of the little care they take of them, they reproach them with threatenings, and blows. They tell them that instead of having compassion on them, they will use them like Dogs till such time as they are all dead. There is hardly a Prisoner that is not seized with many distempers. There hath been such a great number of sick people together, that they have counted threescore and fifteen at the same time in one chamber: They have taken away out of the Prisons many young Children, notwithstanding the opposition of their Parents. In fine, the Prisoners have been so barbarously used, that it is scarce possible to believe, that among those that bear the name of Christians, there could be found so much inhumanity, were it not known to what degree the Enemies of the *Waldenses* have extended their fury. But we cannot doubt of the excess of miseries that these poor Captives have endured, since we have been informed that more than 8000 persons have expired under the weight of this cruel bondage. In the mean time, as if the sufferings wherewith their bodies were afflicted were not sufficient, they have even persecuted their very souls after a most dreadful manner. For the Monks and the Priests have tried all the means imaginable to oblige them to change their Religion. The good God hath nevertheless given them the grace to persist in the Truth, and there are very few that have yielded to the force of these temptations: those that turned were treated a little more gently than the others, but they gave them not their liberty.

The Prisoners were reduced to this lamentable condition, when the Duke of Savoy caused the Order to be published in the Prisons, that permitted them to go out, and to retreat into *Switzerland*. This publication was not made every where in the same manner, nor at the same time; but successively, and with proportion to the departure of the Prisoners. It was made nevertheless in the greatest part of the Prisons by the means of an Auditor who caused the Prisoners to appear before him, and told them that those that had a mind to retreat out of the Estates of *Piedmont* to go into *Switzerland* were permitted so to do; even those that had promised to change their Religion, because that promises that had been made in a Prison ought to be look'd on as forced and extorted, and by consequence

nul and void. He added that they were left to their liberty, whether they would go, or stay behind and change their Religion ; nevertheless the Prisoners had not all this freedom of choice that they pretended to grant them. For the Monks and the Officers of the Prisons who were present at this publication endeavoured to hinder the effects thereof. Sometimes they represented to them that the rigour of the Season, and the cruelty of the Soldiers that conducted them, would cause part of them to perish on the Road. Sometimes they flatter'd them with the hopes of returning to their Houses if they would abjure their Religion. But when these Considerations could not move them, they beat them outrageously, as it hapned in the Prisons of *Af*, where the Governor gave them a thousand blows with his Cane in the presence of the Auditor *Leonardy*. They shut them up in deep ditches, and in very stinking places, as were the Prisons of *Queirague* and others. In fine, they raised so many obstacles, that there were several that yielded to the temptation, and consented to renounce their Religion. But instead of sending them back to their Houses, they carried them at length, as it were into captivity, into the Province of *Vercueil*, being the most barren, and the least fertile part of all the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions. I cannot omit some circumstances that were very remarkable ; one whereof is, that several young Children, as well those that had been taken out of the Prisons, as those that were dispersed through *Piedmont*, hearing that the prisoners were set at liberty, desired to go along with their Parents and Kindred, but they would not suffer them to do it : the other is, that the permission to depart was not published in the Prisons of *Lucerne*, but only stuck upon the Walls, that the Prisoners might have no benefit thereof : And lastly, they would not give liberty to the Prisoners that were in the deep ditches of *Af*, nor to the families that were in the Citadel of *Turin*.

Soon after this publication, they caused the *Waldenses* to depart in several Troops or Brigades, that were conducted to *Geneva* by the Officers, and Soldiers of the Duke of *Savoy*. They had promised by the Treaty made with the Count *de Govon* to Cloath all the Prisoners ; whereupon they gave them certain old tattered Coats, and some pairs of Stockings ; but as they executed the Treaty in this particular, they broke it in others much more considerable. For besides the Cruelties that they exercised against several Brigades ; they took away a great number of young Children upon the Road. There hapned amongst others, two things by which one may judge of the rest.

rest. One respects the Prisoners that were at *Mondovi* ; they caused to be published at *Christmas*, about five of the Clock in the evening, the Order that gave them permission to depart ; they told them that if they did not go away immediately upon the spot, they should have no benefit of the Order, because they intended to revoke it the next day. These miserable creatures were all disabled and worn out with Diseases and languishing Pains. Nevertheless they chose rather to go free, and to expose themselves to a manifest danger, than to groan any longer under this cruel Captivity. They departed then in a night the most cold, and the most inconvenient that can be possibly imagined, and travelled without stopping, four or five miles over the Snow and the Ice, but with so great misfortune, that there were more than an hundred and fifty that fainted under this fatigue, and dyed by the way, without any possibility of succour from their Brethren. The other is in reference to the Prisoners that were at *Fossan*. There was a Brigade of these Prisoners that having lain at *Novalaise*, at the foot of Mount *Senis*, perceived the next morning as they were going, a great storm to arise on that Mountain. Some of them caused the Officer that conducted them to take notice of that storm. They entreated him to stay till it was over, and not to expose them to an apparent destruction, but to take pity of so many persons, the greatest part of whom were feeble, and without strength ; they told him also that if he would be so charitable to them, they would ask him for no Bread, choosing rather to pass without eating, than to venture to cast themselves on this danger : but this Officer was so rigorous and unmerciful, as to cause them to march on, and to sacrifice part of them to his barbarous cruelty. For there were about twenty six that dyed under Mount *Senis*, being destroyed by the tempest. They were old Men, sick Persons, Women, and little Children, that had not strength to resist the rigour of the bad weather, whom their kindred were compelled to leave behind them for a prey to the wild Beasts, because this Officer would not suffer them to take any care of them : the following Brigades, and several Merchants, who soon after passed by this Mountain, saw the bodies of these miserable wretches extended on the Snow, and the Women having their Children in their Arms. However, this testimony must be given to the truth, that several Officers, that conducted the *Waldenses*, took a particular care of them.

The Reformed *Cantons* being informed of the taking away of the Children, and the other ill treatment received by the *Waldenses* on the way, thought that they were still obliged in Charity to sollicit in their behalf. Therefore to that end they sent Deputies to the Court of *Turin*, as well in favour of the march of the Brigades that were not yet arrived at *Geneva*, as to demand the restitution of the Children that were taken away on the Road, and of the young Boys and Girls that were dispersed through *Piedmont*, when the Valleys were subdued. And since they had received at the same time a Letter from the Count *de Govon*, wherein he acquainted them that his Master had deferred for some time the deliverance of the Ministers, and that he would not release some Prisoners that had been taken in Arms, and that had been condemned to work all their life-time in his Royal Highness's Fortifications : the Reformed *Cantons* charged their Deputies again to demand the liberty of the Ministers, and of all the other Prisoners conformably to the Treaty made with the Count *de Govon*. But before we speak of the success of this Negociation, let us see in what condition the *Waldenses* were, when they arrived at *Geneva*.

They arrived at several times, and in several Troops or Brigades, that composed in all but two thousand five hundred persons ; but they were in so bad and deplorable a condition, that it is not possible to express it. There were several poor people that expired between the two Gates of the City, and that found the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty ; others were so consumed with diseases and pain, that they thought every moment they would dye in the Arms of those that had the Charity to entertain them. Others were so frozen with cold that they had not strength enough to speak ; some staggered under the weight of an extreme faintness and weariness, others lost the use of some of their Members, and were not able to lift up their Hands to receive the assistance that was offered them. The greatest part of them were naked and without shooes : in fine, they all carried about them such marks of excessive sufferings, and extreme misery, that the most obdurate Heart would have been pierced to the quick with a sensible grief at the very sight of them. Whereas the Brigades remained some time at *Geneva*, to take a little rest and refreshment

refreshment before they set forward for *Switzerland*; those that arrived first went to meet those that came after, to inform themselves concerning their kinsfolks and acquaintance of whom they had heard no News since the reddition of the Valleys. A Father enquired after his Child, and a Child after his Father, a Husband sought for his Wife, and a Wife for her Husband, and every one endeavoured to hear some News of their Friends and Neighbours; but as this was to very little purpose, since the most part were dead in Prison, it made a spectacle so sad and dismal, that all that stood by, were dissolved in Tears, whilst these poor miserable creatures, being oppressed, and overwhelmed with the excess of their grief, were not able any longer to lament themselves, or so much as to complain. But as it is very difficult to represent objects so sad and so affecting, so it would be as hard a task to express the charity wherewith the people of *Geneva* were animated on this occasion. The Inhabitants pressed on so fast to go before these poor wretches to lead them into their Houses, that the Magistrates were obliged to forbid them to go out of the City, to avoid the confusion and disorders that usually attend so great a concourse of people. Every one strove who should entertain the most sick, or those that were most afflicted, to the end they might have a greater subject whereon to exercise their Charity. They treated them not only as dear and tender Children, but also as persons that brought Peace, and a Blessing along with them on their Families. They took an extraordinary care of the sick, several of whom dyed at *Geneva*, and some of them had the wounds yet on their Bodies, that the Worms had caused in Prison. All the *Waldenses* that wanted cloathing, were either furnished by those that lodged them, or by the *Italian* Bank, the Directors whereof from the beginning to the end, shewed all the marks of a tender compassion, and of an ardent Charity.

But it was not only in *Geneva*, that the *Waldenses* have found such consolation, but they have received also a great deal in *Switzerland*, where the Reformed *Cantons* have opened to them their Country, and the Bowels of their Compassions, after the most Generous, the most Christian, and the most Charitable manner in the World. And it is upon the account of the *Waldenses*,

denses, as well as of other distressed people that have took Sanctuary there, that it may be said, that the Country of *Switzerland* is a safe Harbour, that the Hand of God hath made, to preserve from Shipwrack, those that are exposed to the Waves of Persecution.

Furthermore, the Deputies of the Reformed *Cantons* being arrived at *Turin*, demanded the liberty of the Ministers, and of the other Prisoners, and the restitution of the Children that were took from them on the way, and of those that were dispersed through *Piedmont* when the Valleys were subdued. They represented on behalf of the Ministers, that they could have no justifiable pretence to detain them, not only because they were comprehended in the Treaty made with the Count *de Govons*; but also because they were the principal subject of the *Switzers* intercession: besides that it was but just to restore the Pastors to their Flocks, to comfort and support them in their Tryals. As for the Prisoners condemned during their lives to work in the Fortifications, they represented also that they ought not to be distinguished from the rest, under colour that they were more culpable: For

1. The Treaty mentions no exception to their prejudice. And it imports, that all the Prisoners in general shall be released.

2. The Count *de Govon* himself hath declared in a Letter, that he wrote on this Subject in behalf of the Duke his Master, that they did not intend to detain any of the Prisoners.

3. Since it hath pleased his Royal Highness to grant safe Conducts to those that were actually in Arms, with much more reason ought he to give leave to these Prisoners (of whom it is disputed) to retreat, who have always been considered as far less criminal. And as for the young Children, they shewed, that they ought to be released, both those that had been took away upon the Road, and those that had been dispersed through *Piedmont*, because both the one fort and the other was kept back, contrary to the purport and intent of the Treaty: but neither the Reasons nor the Sollicitations of the Deputies produced any effect; they yielded to nothing but

but the restitution of some of the Children that were taken on the way. For all the rest remain as yet in the Estates of Piedmont. It is true the Court of *Turin* hath promised to restore the Ministers in some time. But at present they are distributed with their Families, consisting of forty seven persons into three Prisons or Castles, where they are strictly guarded, and exposed to abundance of Inconveniences and miseries, without seeing yet any appearance of Redemption.

Thus I have given you in short, a Relation of the most material Passages on the account of the dissipation of the Churches and Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piedmont*. There wants nothing more to demonstrate, that there never was any Persecution more unjust, nor more violent. Much less is there any thing wanting to make it appear, that there never were any Objects more worthy of the compassion of all good Christians, than the *Waldenses* that have escaped this Persecution. They are perswaded, that all Reformed *Europe* will look with an eye of pity on the Calamities and Pains with which they are overwhelmed, and that they will be partakers of their sorrow. These are the sad Remains of that dismal Shipwreck, wherewith the true Successors of the Apostles have been so lately swallowed up. This is that scattered Remnant of those Mother Churches, the most ancient of all, that from the Top of the *Alpes* had illuminated a great part of the Universe. Finally, this is that poor Remainder reduced to so small a number, and to so deplorable a condition, on whose diminution and misery we cannot reflect without being pierced to the Heart with an extraordinary and surprising grief. They implore the Protection of Kings, Princes and Protestant Estates: and in fine, of all the Faithful. They conjure them by the Bowels of Compassion of the common Saviour of the World, and by all that is most Sacred in the Communion of Saints, to hearken to the sad voice of their bitter Lamentations and Groans. They beseech them to continue the effects of this incomparable Charity of which they have given so many famous Examples, and to open the Treasure of their Benevolence towards this Residue, that the good God hath just now saved by a Miracle of his Providence. They will by this means endeavour to conduce somewhat to the Glory of the Sovereign Monarch of the Universe. And they will receive this Consolation, that

that they have made use of so happy an opportunity of preserving in the parlors of the *Waldens*, the first Fruits of the Primitive Church. In the mean time, these poor distressed people will never cease to open their Hearts in the presence of the Father of Light, for their charitable Benefactors, that it may please him to multiply more and more these their good Fruits, and crown their Charity with the most precious Blessings, both in this life, and that which is to come.

A LETTER

A LETTER from his Royal Highness of Savoy, to the
Inhabitants of the Valleys.

To our most Dear and Faithful Subjects, the Communities of
the Valleys of *Lucerne, Peirouse and S. Martin*, and of the
Quarters of *Perrustin, S. Bartholomew and Rocheplatte*

The Duke of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont, King of Cyprus, &c.

Most Dear and Faithful,

Since we have been well pleased with the zeal and readines, with which you have provided Men who have served us to our entire satisfaction in the Affairs we had against the Genoese; we have thought fit by these Presents to testify unto you our good liking thereof, and to assure you, that we will keep it in particular remembrance, to make you sensible on all occasions, of the Effects of our Royal Protection, whereof the Count and Intendant Boccaria shall give you a more full Information, whom we have commanded to express to you our sentiments more at large, and also to take a List of the Officers and Soldiers, as well of those that are dead, as of those that remain Prisoners, to make report thereof unto us; to the end that we may have due regard thereto. In the mean time these Presents shall serve you for an assured testimony of our satisfaction and good will; and we pray God to preserve you from Evil.

From Turin the fifth of November, 1672.

Signed
C. Emanuel Buonfiglio.

A Copy of a Letter wrote to Count Boccaria, by His Royal Highness.

Truly and Well-Beloved,

The Men whom the Communities of the Valleys of *Lucerne, &c.* have provided, have served us so faithfully, that being desirous to testify unto them our satisfaction therein, we have sent you a Letter herein inclosed, that we have wrote to them; to the end that you may deliver it to them, and also express more fully the good will that we bear to them on this account, and that you may assure them, that whencesoever any thing shall happen, that may tend to their advantage, we will

will particularly remember their affection, and on this occasion you shall take a List of the Officers and Soldiers, as well of those that are dead, as of those that are Prisoners, and make report thereof unto us, to the end that we may be able to have convenient regard thereto, and referring to you what may be said further in token of the satisfaction we have received, no less by their zeal and readiness, than by the good Service that their Officers and Soldiers have rendered us, we pray our Lord to preserve you.

At Turin the fifth of November, 1672.

Signed
C. Emanuel.

To Monsieur the Count Am. Boccaria, Counsellor of State, and Resenary Intendant General of the Valleys.

The Order of *Don Gabriel* of Savoy, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Valleys.

D. Gabriel of Savoy, Marques of Rive, Commander General of the Armies of his Royal Highness, and General of the Cavalry.

*T*He underwritten Officers of the Valleys of Lucerne have shewn so great a zeal for his Royal Highnesses Service, as opportunity hath offered it self, particulary in the Commotions of this Province, that we have thought it convenient to give them some attestation thereof, to the end, that on other occasions wherein his Royal Highnesses Service shall be required, they may be punctual to continue, and to give further proofs of their zeal and courage; wherefore by virtue of the Authority we have from his Royal Highness, we give permission to the aforesaid Officers here undernamed, to carry Arms, upon condition nevertheless, that they do not abuse it; and we command all those that depend on our Orders, as General, and desire others not to give them, nor to permit any molestation to be given them, upon the account of carrying the said Arms directly, nor indirectly, under any pretence whatsoever, this being his Royal Highnesses Will and Pleasure, and his Service requiring the same.

Given at Mondovi the twenty ninth of September, 1681.

FINIS.







